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RECORDING OF MEETING
ON FEBRUARY 28, 1973
BETWEEN THE
PRESIDENT AND JOHN
DEAN, FROM
9:12 TO 10:23 A.M.

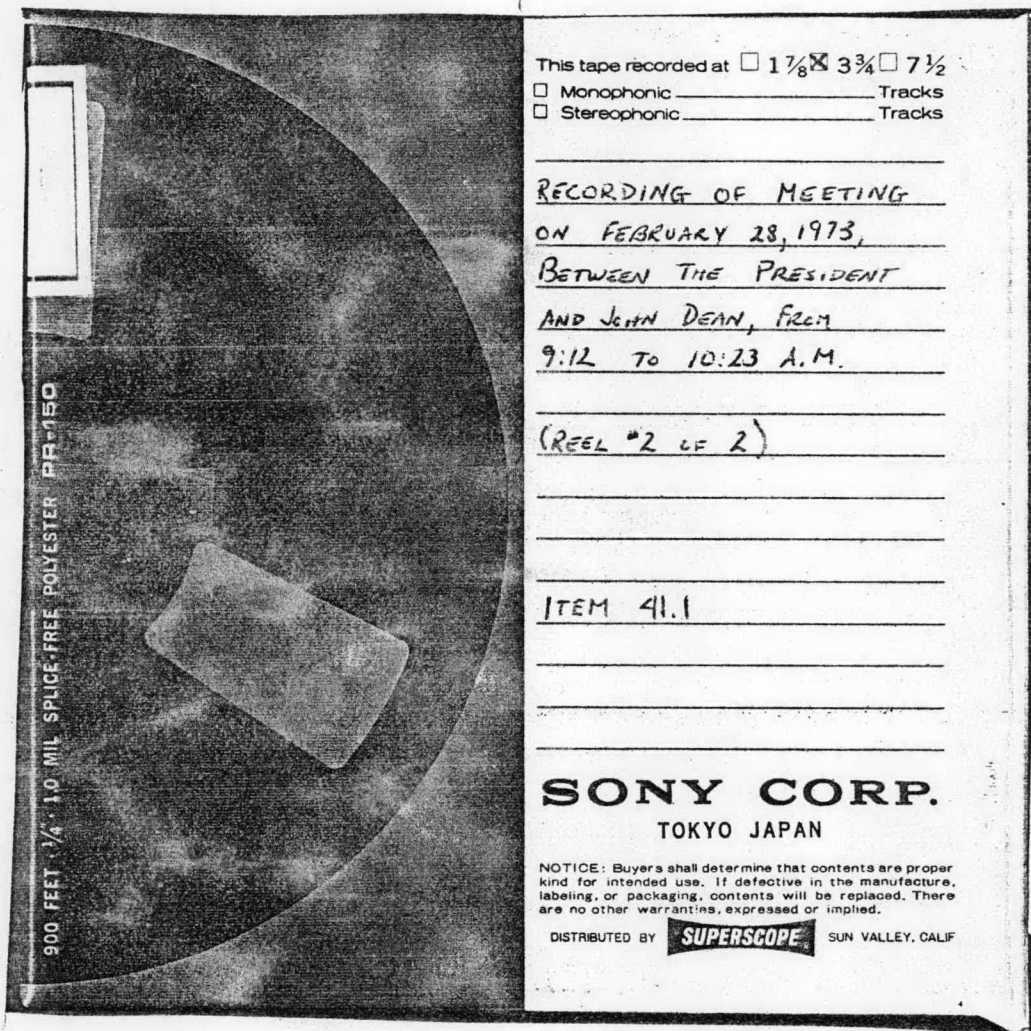
(REEL #1 OF 2)

ITEM 41.1

SONY CORP.
TOKYO JAPAN

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Transcript Prepared by Watergate Special Prosecution Force
of Recording of Meeting on February 28, 1973, Between
the President and John Dean, from 9:12 to 10:23 a.m.

Dean: Good morning, sir.

President: Oh, hi.

Dean: How are you?

President: Oh, I wanted to, uh, to speak with you [inaudible]
to see what [inaudible] what about the line we
had. Now [inaudible] Kleindienst -- it's not a
question of trust. You have it clearly understood
that you will call him and give him directions and
that he will call you, and so forth and so on. I
just don't want Dick to go, . . .

Dean: You know I . . .

President: go off -- you see, for example, on executive
privilege -- I don't want him to go off and get
the damn thing -- uh, uh -- get us --

Dean: Make any deals on it --

President: Well, I mean [inaudible]

Dean: [inaudible]

President: That is the point. Yeah, 'cause Baker, as I said, is
going to keep the Congress you know, this and
that and the other thing, and you've got to be
very firm with these guys or you may not end up
with many [inaudible]. Now as I said, the only
back-up position I can possibly see is one of a,
uh, if Kleindienst wants to back [inaudible] --
didn't want to but suggested we ought to back
him heavily, send him up there in executive
session. Well, now, you all under executive
session, we still got a problem, and it ain't good.
Of a . . . Well, I think . . .

Dean: Take Magruder . . .

President: I think [inaudible] the difficulty [inaudible] Magruder point. And that's the [inaudible] Committee. This crap bothers us just a moment, but that's far more significant. And they will haul him up there and bully-rag him around the damn place and it will raise holy hell with our [inaudible] like Rogers and all the other people.

Dean: Yeah.

President: Oh, uh, oh I must have some notes out -- uh, I guess, ^{uh} why a couple of yellow pages -- something that I receive and filed on the teachers' thing that I am not doing today

Secretary: Yes, sir.

President: Get the yellow pages [inaudible].

Secretary: Alright, sir.

President: Just send it back to me, please. So you see, ah, I think you'd better have a good hard face to face talk with him and say, "Look, we have thought this thing over." And, uh, and you raise the point that it cannot be executive session because, you know, he is likely to float it out there and they will grab him.

Dean: That's right, and as I mentioned yesterday, he is meeting with Sam Ervin and Baker in this joint session and it probably is one of the first things that, uh . . .

President: Yeah. That Ervin and he will discuss. The main thing --

Dean: That's right.

President: That's not all. The main thing Ervin is going to be talking about is executive privilege. Now, has that meeting been set yet, though?

Dean: No, it's not. So there is ample time to have Dick go up there --

President: You, have you ever talked with him?

Dean: Yes, sir. We talked about early sessions. That's where he is.

President: Now your position uh, of course, I know how [inaudible] written interrogatories which they will never -- [inaudible] probably accept. But it will make his position be reasonable in the public mind.

Dean: Correct.

President: That is what you have in mind.

Dean: Correct.

President: Now the other possibility is, uh, is the one that, uh, Ehrlichman has suggested. If you could have, have uh . . . agree that the ranking, that the Chairman and the ranking member could, uh, question under basically the same, under very restricted -- uh, a little bit early so [inaudible].

Dean: You mean coming down here, say?

President: Basically, that is the suggestion.

Dean: I think, I think, that's a -- a sort of "if" we couldn't get the written interrogatories. That's still a serious precedent to deal with, though, if they come down here and, uh, uh,

President: Yeah.

Dean: start questioning people. I think the issues would have to be so narrowed for even that situation.

President: Yeah.

Dean: And that's what'll evolve with the narrowing of the issues to where, what information say a Haldeman might have or an Ehrlichman might have. The Committee needs to be complete in its report or its investigation.

President: Yeah. We will say that we will ask --- we will be exposed to written interrogatories under oath. Then they can ask their questions.

Dean: That's --- publicly you, you're not withholding any information and you are not using the shield

President: Well, as I say ---

Dean: of the Presidency.

President: when you talk to Kleindienst -- because I have raised this [inaudible] thing with him on the Hiss case -- he has forgotten, I suppose. Go back and read the first chapter of SIX CRISES. It tells all about it. But I know very . . . as I said, that was espionage against the nation, not against the party. FBI, Hoover himself, who's a friend of mine, . . .

Dean: Uh, huh.

President: He then said "I am sorry I have been ordered not to cooperate" and they didn't give us one God damn thing. I conducted that investigation with two stupid little committee investigators --

Dean: That's stupid.

President: -- they were tenacious. One had been fired by the FBI. He was good, although he was a drunk.

Dean: Um, hum.

President: And, uh, we got it done. But we broke that thing without any help from the FBI. Then got the evidence substantially. You see, we got the typewriter, we got the, the, the oh, the Pumpkin Papers. We got all of that ourselves.

Dean: Well, you know I think ---

President: The FBI did not cooperate. The Justice Department did not cooperate. The Administration would not answer questions except, of course, for Cabinet officers, I mean like, ah, Burling came down and some of the others, but ---

Dean: Funny, when the shoe is on the other foot how they look at things, isn't it?

President: It is. Well, as I said, the New York Times, the Washington Post and all the rest. [inaudible] They then, they put it in terms of executive privilege because they were against the investigation. So the real question there is now, now you can say I -- having been through that -- we

have talked it over and I feel that -- I think that was -- I have always felt very miffed about ~~that~~ because that was wrong, [inaudible] now this is another matter. But I think we ought to cooperate by trying to find an area of cooperation. Here it is. [inaudible] You see, the Baker theory is that he wants to have a big slambang thing for a week and then he thinks interest in the whole thing will fall off.

Dean: He is right about that.

President: But his point of having a big slambang for a week is that to bring all the big shots up right away. But the big shots you could bring up. They could bring up Stans. They could put him on, and they've got to put Mitchell on. They'd like to get, of course, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Colson.

Dean: I understand that, uh, Bob and you have talked about running Stans out as sort of a stalking horse, on another post.

President: Well, it's not my idea. It's just, I guess Moore or somebody mentioned it.

Dean: I think it was my idea. As a matter of fact I think it could defuse --- be one defusing factor in the hearings. Uh, Stans would like to get his side of the story out. He is not in any serious

problem ultimately. It could be rough and tumble, but Maury is ready to take it and, uh, it would be a mini-hearing, no doubt about it. But this further detracts from ---

President: the other committee hearing.

Dean: It is true.

President: Except knowing the Press, apparently they have a lot of uh --- knowing that they, uh, you know, they, like they have taken -- they sold several of these stories about Colson and Haldeman about four times.

Dean: Oh, I know that.

President: Now, [inaudible] I just wondered if, if that doesn't do that? In fact, I'd hesitate to send Stans. It doesn't take much to see somebody is after him about Vesco. [inaudible] I read, I first read the story briefly in the Post. I read, naturally, the first page and I turned to the Times to read it. The Times had in the second paragraph that the money had been returned, returned.

Dean: That's correct.

President: The Post didn't have it until after you continued to the back section.

Dean: That's right.

President: It is the god damnest thing I ever saw.

Dean: Typical.

President: (Cough) My guess is, as far as that transaction is concerned, it was after they got the money after the 10th, but I don't think they pointed out that Sears got it before.

Dean: By the way [inaudible] Well, for all purposes, the, the uh, the donor --

President: I'm sure, [inaudible] Stans would never do it.

Dean: Now, uh ---

President: Never. Never. Never.

Dean: Uh, I think we have a good strong case that the donor had relinquished control over the money, and constructive possession of the money was in the hands of the ---

President: Harry Sears.

Dean: Finance Committee, Sears and the like. So that there is no -- ah --

President: How did they get my brother in it? Eddie?

Dean: I'll say . . . you talk about . . . that was, that was sheer sandbagging of your brother. Here is what they did. They called him down here in Washington . . .

President: Who did?

Dean: Uh . . .

President: Sears?

Dean: it was Vesco, it was Vesco, and Sears, and said, "we want to talk to you about the nature of this transaction because we have had earlier conversations with, uh, Stans." He really wasn't privy to it, and didn't know much about it, but sure "I'll come up." What the long and short of it was that they were asking him to find out from Stans whether they wanted cash or checks. Stans just

responded to your brother and said, uh, "I don't really care -- whatever they want to do," and that is what he relayed back. And it's, uh, he wasn't, he didn't even understand why he was there.

President: Sure. [inaudible]

Dean: So, and he's as clean as a whistle, there's just no ---

President: Oh, I know that. I know that.

Dean: That's no problem at all.

President: [inaudible] So you would sort of lean to having Stans starting out there?

Dean: I think, uh, I think it would take a lot of the teeth out of the -- you know -- the stardom of the people they'll try to build up to. If Stans has already gone through a hearing in another committee, obviously they'll use everything they have at that time, and it won't be a hell of a lot. Uh, it confuses the public. The public is bored with this thing already.

President: Yeah.

Dean: One of the --- one of the things, I think we did succeed in before the election --

President: Stans is very clean. What I mean is, let's face it, on this thing the way I analyze it, and I have stayed deliberately away from it, but I think I can sense what it is. The way I analyze the thing, Stans would have been horrified at any such thing. And, uh, and uh, what had

happened, what happened was that he honestly is outraged. He thinks that what happened was he thinks he eventually found a line on somebody's hard earned cash and got into silly business with it.

Dean: That's right [inaudible]. He does and he is a victim of circumstances, of innuendo, of false charges. Uh, he has a darn good chance of winning that libel suit he's got against Larry O'Brien.

President: Has he?

Dean: He --- That's right.

President: Good. That's why Larry filed a countersuit.

Dean: That's right.

President: I see. Ziegler was disturbed at the news that they subpoenaed newsmen. Did it disturb you?

Dean: It didn't disturb me at all. No, sir. I, I talked to Ron at some length about it the other night, and I said, "Ron, first of all you can be rest assured that the White House was not involved in that decision."

President: [inaudible]

Dean: It's not a criminal case, no.

President: It doesn't involve prosecution.

Dean: No, it is a civil deposition, and, uh, it is not that we haven't reached the newsman's privilege issue yet, and that is way down the road if for some reason they refuse to testify on some given

evidence. What they are trying to establish is the fact that, uh, Edward Bennett Williams' law firm passed out an amended complaint that libeled Stans before it was into the court process, so it was not privileged. And the newsmen are the people who can answer that question. Also they're trying to find out how Larry O'Brien and Edward Bennett Williams made statements to the effect that this law suit was not really to -- the first law suit they had filed against the Committee -- was not really to establish any invasion of privacy, but rather they were harassing the uh, the Committee.

President: The Committee to Re-Elect?

Dean: They made this off the record to several newsmen, and we know they did this. That this was a drummed up law suit.

President: And so, therefore, that proves also malice, doesn't it?

Dean: Yeah, but it makes the abuse of process, ah, case that we have against them on a counter suit. And the lawyers made a very conscious and good decision that to proceed with the suit they were going to have to have this information, and it doesn't bother me if, uh, they subpoenaed nine or ten --

President: Well, one hell of a lot of people don't give one god damn about this issue of suppression of the press, and so forth. We know that we aren't trying to do it. And they can all squeal about it. And it is amusing to me when they say -- as

much as I watched the networks, and they weren't -- and I thought they were restrained. What the Christ do they want them to do -- go through the 68 syndrome when they were 8 to 1 against us? They are only three to one this, this time, I think, according to the average. You know it is really, really it's really sickening, you know to see these guys. They've always, they always figured we have the press on our side. We, ah, we, we, receive a modest amount of support

Dean: I know.

President: -- no more. Colson sure makes -- move it around, saying we don't like this or that and [inaudible].

Dean: Well, you know Colson's threat of a law suit which, which was printed in Evans and Novak had a very sobering effect on several of the national magazines. They are now checking --- before they print a lot of this Watergate junk they print. . . with the press office trying to get a confirmation, denial, comment, or calling the individuals that's involved. And they have said as much as they are doing it because they are afraid someone's gonna bring a libel suit on them. So it did have a sobering effect. We will keep them, maybe honest if we can, uh, remind them that they can't print anything and get away with it.

President: Well, as you of course know, [inaudible]
the time of the Hills case [inaudible]

Dean: Yes, I have noticed. You have to establish, one,
malice, or reckless disregard of --- Well,
they're both very difficult.

President: [inaudible] Yeah. Malice is impossible for
[inaudible] It's got to get up in through me.
Reckless disregard maybe.

Dean: Tough. That is a bad decision, Mr. President.

President: It really is a bad decision. [inaudible].
What's the name of the case? It's a horrible
decision.

Dean: New York Times versus Sullivan, and it came out
of out of the South on a civil rights. . .

President: It was about some, some guy that was a police chief
or something. But anyway, I remember reading it
at the time when --- that's when we were suing
LIFE, you know, for Hills. When LIFE
was guilty as hell.

Dean: Did you win it?

President: In the Supreme Court -- four to three. There were
a couple people who could --- you know it might
have been five to four or five to three and one-
half.

Dean: [Laughter.]

President: Basically the uh --- Well, this goes back to
executive privilege so it's clearly understood.
We must uh, we must, must go forward on that just

so you understand. I think you had better go over and get in touch with Dick. And say "you keep it at your level." And say "The President [inaudible]."

Dean: My guess is that [inaudible] but I, I say, "this is the position, Dick, you should take, period."

President: That's what I mean. Get out there and take it. But I want [inaudible] position with Baker. Baker is a smoothy-impressive - Oh, the President didn't say this or that - [inaudible] Baker can say alright they studied it, they recommended it and the President has approved it. Right?

Dean: I don't know . . .

President: Is that what you would say?

Dean: Yes, sir, I think, I think that is absolutely on all fours. And how about our dealings with Baker? Under normal Congressional relations, viz-a-viz Timmons and Baker, should we have Timmons making, uh, dealing with . . .

President: Well, he, he objected to uh, something that is a curious thing on that [inaudible] made a very big gaff by calling him and urging and trying to influence who would be on his staff. Jesus Christ, uh, I don't know why he [inaudible] ever did it, if he did. But I don't know . . . but if he did, I don't know why Baker would resent it. But, nevertheless, he --- I don't know how to deal with him, frankly.

Dean: Why don't you ask Kleindienst to . . .
[inaudible]

President: I gathered the impression that Baker didn't
want to talk to anybody but Kleindienst.

Dean: Only I think that is one we will just have to
monitor and that is one we will have to know
an awful lot about along the road.

President: Well let's let Timmons tell Baker that if he
wants to talk to, if he wants to get anybody at
the White House, that I want him to talk to
Timmons. 'Course Timmons is a party in interest
here too. I don't want him to talk to Haldeman; don't
want him to talk to Ehrlichman; that you are the
man; that you are available. But leave it that way,
that you're able to talk to them for everything.
But nobody else. How does that sound to you?

Dean: I think that sounds good.

President: You tell Timmons that he sees him privately, and
says that's it. We are not pressing him. We
don't care, we're not, because Baker . . . the
woods are full of weak men.

Dean: I would suspect if we are going to get any in-
sight into what that, that special Committee is
going to do, it is going to be through Gurneys.
I don't know about Weicker, where he is

President: Weicker is . . .

Dean: going to fall out on this thing.

President: He'll, he'll be

Dean: Weicker's got a . . .

President: I think Weicker --- the line to Weicker is Gray. Now Gray has got to shape up here and handle himself well too. Do you think he will?

Dean: I do. I think Pat has had it tough. He goes up this morning as you know. Uh, he is, uh, he's ready. He is very comfortable in all of the decisions he has made, and I think he will be good.

President: But he is close to Weicker - that is what I meant.

Dean: Yes, he is.

President: And, uh, so, uh, Gray . . . has a lead in there

Dean: -- Yes.

President: One rather amusing thing about this Gray thing, is that and I knew this would come. They say constantly Gray is a political crony and a personal crony of the President's. Did you know that I have never seen him socially?

Dean: Is that correct? No, I didn't.

President: I mean he has been to a couple White House events, but I have never seen him separately.

Dean: The Press has got him meeting you at a social function. And, and, what happened there back in '47, I think, something I have read.

President: Maybe Radford had a party or something.

Dean: Something like that.

President: something like that. That's all. Gray . . . it's the last . . . I know. But Gray is somebody that I, that I know only as a . . . He was, he was Radford's Assistant, used to attend NSC meetings.

Dean: Un huh.

President: Aside from that, he has never been a social friend. Edgar Hoover, on the other hand, I have seen socially at least a hundred times. He and I were very close friends.

Dean: That's curious the way the Press --

President: This Goddam press -- why Hoover was my crony, that's right. He was close, closer to me than Johnson, actually, although Johnson used him more. But as for Pat Gray, Christ, I never saw him.
[inaudible]

Dean: While it might have been, ah, a lot of blue chips to the late Director, I think we would have been a lot better off during this whole Watergate thing if he had been alive. Because he knew how to handle that Bureau . . .

President: Oh!

Dean: -- knew how to keep them in bounds, ah ---

President: Well, if Hoover had fought, he would have fought. That's the point. He'd have fired a few people, or he'd have scared them to death. He's got files on everybody.

Dean: That's right.

President: But now, at the present time, the Bureau is leaking like a sieve to Baker, and, and Gray denies it.
[inaudible] Bureau. Who in the hell is it coming from? [inaudible] It isn't coming from Henry Petersen is it?

Dean: No. I just would not . . .

President: It isn't coming from the deposition, is it?

Dean: No. Well, they are getting the raw data. They are getting the raw, what they call the 302 forms.

President: Yeah.

Dean: Actually, the summaries of the interviews.

President: Yeah. Yeah. Well, if you could do . . . handle it that way, I think that is the best thing to do. Do you ever wonder really if Colson, who's got the brass. . . the balls of a brass monkey, should bring suit? Now then, for example, I notice that Colson, Colson's got a lot of vulnerabilities, you know, in terms of people that he knew, and so forth and so on. And certainly many things, but I mean on a narrow issue --

Dean: Well, Chuck and I talked . . .

President: he might win it.

Dean: He could probably win the suit, but lose the war, for this reason: a counter-discovery in a libel action has no bounds.

President: I get it. OK. Chuck will just [inaudible].

Dean: That's the problem there.

President: Is that the District Court, is that Federal Court?

Dean: That's right. They could just come in and depose him on everything he has done at any point in time, and that does . . .

President: Keep him out of it. Keep him out of it.

Dean: Right.

President: Why doesn't Stans be the sue-er? He is the sue-er, Right?

Dean: He's got a good one, and uh, he may well prevail. It may well they might be forced to settlement of all these other suits we've got out there. You know, we've got 14 million dollar court suits against us, and we've got 7 or 10 against them.

President: Christ. They ought to all get together and drop them.

Dean: That is what we are trying to get accomplished.

President: Hell, yes!

Dean: It is costing, they're causing everybody problems. And uh . . .

President: That's right, that's right. They've got problems, and we've got them.

Dean: Uh . . .

President: Now you see this Vesco thing coming up burns my tail. In fact I raised hell with Haldeman on this and he didn't do anything about. Well I guess he couldn't. What in the name of God became, became of our investigation of their financial activities? Jesus Christ, they borrowed, they cancelled debts, they borrowed money. What the hell is that?

Dean: It is, uh, it is still going on, Mr. President. And McGovern's stuff is in such bad shape. That is another unfortunate thing. The GAO comes in to audit us . . . /

President: Yeah.

Dean: They, they find all the documents, so they are able to make --

President: Just like two year old state tax.

Dean: Well they have now, but you know it gets about that much . . .

President: Yeah.

Dean: coverage in the paper. They can't even figure out what McGovern's done, the books are such a mess, but you haven't seen them say anything yet. And that is one of the things that hopefully we will . . .

President: Bring out in the hearings?

Dean: bring out as to what a mess this was, and uh . . .

President: How do you bring it out? You can't bring it out in these hearings.

Dean: Well I think I would [inaudible] independent, so the media types will bring it out. Chuck is going to be of aid when he is out there not connected with the White House.

President: Yeah.

Dean: coming through with bits of tidbits to be dropped by Chuck, because Chuck will still have his channels to flip things out.

President: Sure! Sure! That's what . . . In my view [inaudible] Of course it is hard to believe since he loves the action and the rest -- but apart from the financial -- apart from the country's aid, and so forth, [inaudible] Colson can be more valuable out than in, because, basically in, he has just reached the point where he was, he was too visible.

Dean: He's a lightning rod.

President: And outside, I mean he can start this and say that I am a private citizen and I can say what I God damn please.

Dean: That's right. That's absolutely right. I think Chuck can be of great aid in this thing, and I think he'll, he'll do it.

President: Now, on other things . . . that is to recap. You will talk to, uh, Timmons about Baker, and get that, get him tied down to the extent you can. I doubt if much can be done there. Then you talk to Kleindienst, so that, so that Kleindienst knows that it has been decided, and that's it. And, he'll say well they won't [inaudible] Going on to the interrogatory thing -- we shall see -- your, your view would be not to give any further ground on that?

Dean: I'd say hope no , but you, you initially hold the line as far as you go. If it becomes apparent that it's necessary for informational purposes, the President is not going to hide any information. He's not -- you are not going to hide any information

President: Yeah.

Dean: And it just can be given in a sworn statement through an interrogatory -- send your questions down; they will be answered. We won't hide any information, we won't change the nature of ability of the President to make decisions, to operate internally and the like, because we'd have a political circus going.

President: OK. I understand from [inaudible] that Mollenhoff still thinks everybody should go up and testify.

Dean: That's right.

President: At least you had a talk with him. I do want you to look at the case, though.

Dean: Yes, sir, I am.

President: This guy has got a bad rap. It's his ass; God damn it we will get him out of it!

Dean: I am doing that. I talked with Clark

President: Yeah.

Dean: yesterday. And I talked with him last night again.

President: Yeah.

Dean: And he is on this as hot and heavy as can be and I . . .

President: Well, does he think he's got a bad rap?

Dean: He does -- he thinks he's got a bad rap. And I, he knows . . .

President: Does he think . . .

Dean: [inaudible]

President: I know Rule doesn't have a bad rap. [inaudible] Rule, Rule because when a bureaucrat takes it upon himself to go out, and go way beyond the pale in terms of attacking an Administration that can't be tolerated. [inaudible]

Dean: The difference . . .

President: Suppose a Congressman or a Senator or one of his Administrative Assistants went out and attacked one

of his contributors. What in the hell would he do? Fire him!

Dean: That's right.

President: I know. I noticed several of our Congressmen and brave Republican Senators called upon us to reinstate Rule. Congress is, of course, on its [inaudible]. And yet they are so enormously frustrated that they are exhausted. Isn't that the point?

Dean: That is the point. I think there is a lot of that.

President: It is too bad. We can take very little comfort from it because we have to work with them. But they become irrevelant because they are so damned irresponsible. As much as we would like to say otherwise. It is a pretty sad lot.

Dean: It is, yes sir. I spent some years on the Hill myself and one of the things I always noticed was the inability of the, of the Congress to deal effectively with the Executive Branch because, one they don't, they have never supplied themselves with adequate staffs, never had adequate information available. Uh . . .

President: Well, now they've got huge staffs though, compared to what we had.

Dean: Well, they've got huge staffs, uh, true, as opposed to what they had years ago, but they are still inadequate to deal effectively --

President: God, don't, don't, don't try to help them out!

Dean: No, I am not suggesting that I keep any reserve money . . . my observations to myself. Well, I think these hearings are going to be hot, and I think they are going to be tough. Uh, I think they are going to be gory in some regards, but I am also convinced that if everyone pulls their own oar in this thing, in all those we've got with various concerns, that we can make it through these and minimal people will be hurt. And they may even paint themselves as being such partisans and off base, that they are really damaging the institutions of the government themselves and . . .

President: Yeah, I frankly would say that I would perhaps rather that they'd be partisan; that they then be . . .

Dean: Alright. We're gonna hope they . . .

President: I, I'd rather that, rather than for them to have a facade of fairness and all the rest [inaudible]. But Ervin, despite all this business about his being a great Constitutional lawyer, Christ, he's got, he's got Baker totally toppled over on that point. Ervin isn't the hardest . . . [inaudible] most of our Southern gentleman are. They're, they are great politicians. They are just more clever than the minority. Just more clever!

Dean: Well, I am convinced that he has shown that he is merely a puppet for Kennedy in this whole thing.

President: For Kennedy.

Dean: For Kennedy. The fine hand of the Kennedys is behind this whole hearing going on, that's forthcoming. There is no doubt about it. When, when they considered the resolution on the Floor of the Senate I got the record out to read it. Who asked special permission to have their Staff man on the floor? Kennedy brings this man Flug out on the floor when they are debating a resolution. He is the only one that did this. Ah, it's been Kennedy's push quietly, his constant investigation, his committee using their subpoenas to get at Kalmbach and all these people.

President: Uh, huh.

Dean: He has kept this quiet and constant pressure on this thing. I think this fellow Sam Dash, who has been selected Counsel, is a Kennedy choice. I think this is also something we'll be able to quietly and slowly document. People will print it in the press, and the parts and cast of this will become much more apparent.

President: Yes, I guess the Kennedy crowd is just laying in the bushes waiting to make their move. [inaudible] You know, we talk about Johnson using the FBI. Did your friends, did your friends tell you whether, what Bobby did? or whether he [inaudible]?

Dean: I, I haven't heard but I wouldn't . . .

President: Johnson believed that Bobby bugged him.

Dean: That wouldn't surprise me.

President: Bobby was a ruthless little bastard. But the FBI does, they, they tell you that, that Sullivan ordered the New Jersey thing? We did use a bug up there to do some intelligence work.

Dean: Intelligence work. We had agents all over town
.

President: In fact the doctors say that the poor old gent had a tumor.

Dean: That's right.

President: The FBI said he had one.

Dean: Well, ah, he used Abe Fortas and Deke DeLoache, backed up by some other people in the Bureau that were standing ready to go out and try to talk this doctor into examining Walter Jenkins to say the man had a brain tumor. He was very ill and slightly erratic but eager. And this doctor wouldn't buy it.

President: The doctor had never examined him before or anything.

Dean: No.

President: They were trying to set it up though, huh?

Dean: Oh, yeah.

President: What other kind of activities?

Dean: Well, I don't know. As I say, I haven't probed Sullivan to the depths on this because I think he's one I want to treat at arm's length

President: Right.

Dean: until we make certain he is safe,

President: That's right.

Dean: because he has a world of information that, uh, may be available.

President: But he says that what happened on the, on the bugging thing was who told what to whom again?

Dean: The bugging --- Oh, on the '68 thing, I was trying to track down the

President: Yeah.

Dean: the leaks. He said that the only place he could figure it coming from would be one of a couple of sources he was aware of that had been somewhat discussed publicly. He said that Hoover had told Patrick Coyne about the fact that this was being done. Coyne had told Rockefeller.

President: Yeah.

Dean: And Rockefeller had told Kissinger. Now I have never run it any step beyond what Mr. Sullivan said there. Now the other thing is that when the records were unavailable for Hoover -- all these logs --

President: Yeah.

Dean: and Hoover tried to reconstruct them by going to the Washington Field Office and he made a pretty good stir about what he was doing when he was trying to get the records reconstructed. He said that at that time it probably hit the grapevine in the Bureau that this had occurred. But there is no evidence of it. Uh, the records show at that the Department of Justice and in the FBI that there's/no . . . such surveillance was ever conducted. Uh . . .

President: Shocking! [inaudible]

Dean: The White House staff and reporters in LIFE.
And now the only other person that knows, is aware
of it, is Mark Felt, and we have talked about
Mark Felt and, uh, I guess . . .

President: What does it do to him, though? Let's face it.
You know, suppose that Felt comes out and unwraps,
what in the hell does it do to him?

Dean: He can't do it. It's just that . . .

President: [inaudible] Who is going to hire him?

Dean: That's right.

President: Let's face it --

Dean: He can't . . . He's . . .

President: He, the guy that does, that can't go out [inaudible].
He couldn't do it unless he had a guarantee from
somebody like TIME Magazine who would say, "look
we will give you a job for life." Then what would
they do? They'd put him in a job for life and
everyone would treat him like a pariah. He is in
a very dangerous situation. These guys you know
-- the informers. Look what it did to Chambers.
Chambers informed because he didn't give a God damn.

Dean: That's right.

President: But then one of the most brilliant writers, accord-
ing to Jim Shepley, we have ever seen in this
country, and I am not referring to the Communist
issue. He was the greatest writer of his time, -
about 30 years ago. Probably, probably the best
writer of the century. He was finished. They
finished him.

Dean: Um, huh. Well I think I . . . There's no. . .

President: Either way, either way, the informer is not long in our society. Either way, that is the one thing people can survive. They can say . . .

Dean: That's right.

President: They can all say "Well that son of a bitch informed. I don't want him around. We don't want him around [inaudible]."

Dean: I don't uh . . .

President: Hoover to Coyne to N.R. to K. Right?

Dean: That's right.

President: Good God! Why did Coyne tell it to Nelson Rockefeller? Jesus! I have known Coyne for years. I haven't known him well, but he was a great friend of . . . you know, one of my Administrative . . ., Bob King, who's a Bureau head.

Dean: Now this is Sullivan's story. I have not, I don't know if it is true, but I don't have any reason to doubt that it . . .

President: Most of this is gossip. Hoover told me, and he also told Mitchell, personally, that this had happened.

Dean: You're, you're, you're talking about . . . I'm talking about the '68, uh, incident that just occurred, not the . . .

President: I'm talking about the '68 bugging of the plane.

Dean: Yeah, I wasn't referring to that now. When this, when this Coyne, uh . . .

President: Oh. That's . . .

Dean: This was the, this was the fact that newsmen had been, uh . . . I, I, I excuse me, I mean to make reference to the fact that

President: Oh.

Dean: three years ago the White House had allegedly assigned --

President: Oh, sure, sure. That's, that's not the, uh . . .

Dean: No, but on the, on the '68 incident, uh, all I have been able to find out is what you told me that Hoover had told you, what he had told Mitchell.

President: Yeah.

Dean: He uh . . .

President: Mitchell corroborates that?

Dean: That's right, uh, he said . . .

President: Sullivan doesn't hurt.

Dean: Kevin Phillips called Pat Buchanan the other day with a, with a tidbit that Dick Whelan on the NSC staff had seen memoranda between the NSC and the FBI that the FBI had been instructed to put surveillance on Anna Chennault, the South Vietnamese Embassy and

President: [inaudible]

Dean: the Agnew plane.

President: Agnew?

Dean: Agnew plane.

President: What do you know? Well this is a fine thing [inaudible].

Dean: Now, and it said, and, this note also said that Deke DeLoach was the operative FBI officer on this.

President: I think DeLoache's memory now is very, very hazy. He doesn't remember. He doesn't remember anything.

Dean: I talked to Mitchell about this and Mitchell said he had talked to DeLoache. DeLoache has in his possession, and he has let Mitchell review them, some of the files on this, uh . . .

President: But not, not the --

Dean: But they don't go very far; they don't go very far. I think this is DeLoache protecting his own hide. The uh . . .

President: [inaudible] It is just as well. We can . . . it's just as well. So Hoover told Coyne, and uh, who told Rockefeller, [inaudible] that newsmen were being bugged.

Dean: Yeah, that's, that's right.

President: Why did they do that?

Dean: I don't have the foggiest. This was Sullivan's story as to where the leak might have come from about the current Time Magazine story, which we are stonewalling totally, uh . . .

President: Oh, absolutely. Well, as I say, I think I am aware of that because I, I, I know, as I said, I know the parameters of it. Is that they never . . . when we first arrived, one of the first reports of Sullivan [inaudible]. Hoover told me, he said [inaudible] intelligence [inaudible] . . . done it for years.

Dean: [inaudible]

President: But then [inaudible] got some interesting information. And then, as I said, Kraft and the others . . . we were extremely interested in those leaks, and Lake, Lake and what was that fellow's name, Halperin?

Dean: Halperin. Well Sullivan tells me how he went to Paris . . .

President: That's right.

Dean: on Kraft.

President: Huh?

Dean: Sullivan tells me how he personally went to Paris on Kraft because he worked with the French.

President: That right.

Dean: And he was able to get the French to cooperate.

President: That's right. Well you see the point was that we knew that Kraft was in touch with the North Vietnamese. We were trying to trace down what the hell they were doing.

Dean: Um huh. . .

President: Perfectly legal.

Dean: Absolutely.

President: Perfectly legal.

Dean: Well, all these are national, deep in the national security area.

President: Certainly . . . and Henry's staff . . . he was [inaudible] work for Muskie.

Dean: Um huh.

President: Incidentally, didn't [inaudible]? At least I know that, because I know that, I know that he asked that it be done and I assume that it was. Lake, Halperin were both mad. They were tactful; they never talked. Just gobs and gobs of material, gossip and bullshit,

Dean: Um huh.

President: and Morris was in on it. This tapping business was very, very unproductive. I always thought that. At least I've never, it's never useful in any operation I've ever conducted. (fire siren)

President: Well, is it your view that we should try to get out the '68 story?

Dean: Well, I think the threat, the threat of the '68 story when Scott and the others were arguing that the Committee up on the Hill broaden its mandate

President: Yeah.

Dean: to include other elections,

President: Yeah.

Dean: they were hinting around at something that occurred in 1968 and 1964 that should be looked at.

President: Right, Goldwater claims he was bugged.

Dean: That's right. Now I think that, I think that, that threats --

President: Didn't you think Gold - Didn't you say that Johnson did bug Goldwater?

Dean: He didn't, we don't well, I don't know if he bugged him.

President: He did intelligence work?

Dean: He did intelligence work up one side and down the other --

President: From the FBI?

Dean: From the FBI. Just up one side and down the other on Goldwater. Now I haven't had a chance to talk to the Senator, and I have known the Senator for twenty years. He is the first man in public life I ever met. Barry Jr. and I were roommates in school together. So I, you know, I can talk to the man.

President: Sure.

Dean: I am really going to sit down with him one day . . .

President: I think you should.

Dean: and say "what . . ."

President: Say "what the hell, what . . . Does he have any hard evidence?"

Dean: That's right. Then we can go from there and . . .

President: Right.

Dean: probably reconstruct some things

President: OK. And so on and so forth. But I do think you've got to remember that, as I am sure you realize, this is mainly a public relations thing anyway. What is the situation incidentally with regard, uh, to the sentencing of the our, of the people -- the seven? When the hell is that going to occur?

Dean: It's not likely to occur, I would say . . . could occur as early as late this week, but more likely sometime next week.

President: Why has it been delayed so long?

Dean: Well, they, they have been in the process of preparing the pre-sentence report. The Judge sends out probation officers to find out everybody who knew

President: Yeah.

Dean: these people, and then he'll . . .

President: Is he trying to work on them, to break them? Is he?

Dean: Well, there is some of that. They are using the probation officer for more than the normal probation report. They are trying to, uh, do a mini-investigation by the judge himself, which is his only investigative tool here. So they . . . that they are virtually completed now. They, the U.S. Attorney who handles these, the Assistant . . .

President: You know, when they talk to you about a 35 year sentence, now here is, here is something that is not involved. . . There were no weapons! Right? There were no injuries! Right? There was no success involved, no success. [inaudible] But the point is, the uh, that, that sort of thing is just ridiculous! One of these, one of these blacks, you know, goes in here and holds up a store with a God damn gun, and they give him two years and then probation after six months!

Dean: And they let him out on bond during the time that he's considering the case. These fellows cannot get out . . .

President: Are they out? Are they in jail?

Dean: They're in . . . well, all but one. Hunt made the bond -- everybody else is in jail. They've got a \$100,000 surety bond, which means that they have to put actual collateral,

President: Yup.

Dean: and none of these people have a \$100,000. The Court of Appeals has been sitting for two weeks or better now on a review of the bond issue and not even letting these people out to prepare their cases for appeal.

At this point, there was a discussion of about 15 minutes on the judiciary and judicial appointments, which has been deleted.

President: Do you still think Sullivan is basically reliable?

Dean: I, I have nothing to judge that on other . . . I have watched him for a number of years. I watched him when he was working with Tom Huston on domestic intelligence, and his, and his desire to do the right thing. Uh, I tried to, you know, to stay in touch with Bill, and find out what his moods are. Bill was forced on the outside for a long time. He didn't become, he didn't become bitter. He sat back and waited until he could come back in. Uh,

he didn't try to force or blackmail his way around with knowledge he had. So I, I have no, I have no signs of anything but a reliable man who thinks a great deal of this Administration and of, and of you.

President: You understand that the problem we have here is that Gray is going to insist, I am sure, come down hard for Felt as the second man. And that worried hell out of me, as you know. I think at the present time it doesn't.

Dean: It worries me, frankly.

President: But for the future, isn't it a problem?

Dean: I think it is for the future cause, you know, things can only get more complex over there as we move along. There is no doubt about that.

President: Well, as he gets closer to the next election . . . oh well . . . [inaudible]. I don't know Felt! Never met him. What does he look like?

Dean: Well, they call him the "White Mouse" or the "White Rat" over there, and uh, he's uh, he has a sort of a mouse or rat looking face with white hair. And, he, he is, you know, he's a man with some presence. He is articulate and is a very able, attractive bureaucrat.

President: Where did he go to school?

Dean: He has been moving around for a long time. Pardon?

President: Where did he go to school?

Dean: I don't have the foggiest notion on his background. I really have never . . .

President: He must be ethnic, isn't he? He's not Italian.

Dean: Ah . . .

President: No. Jewish? Not Jewish!

Dean: [Inaudible] I know. I can't believe he is Jewish, although he looks a little Jewish. That is the interesting thing.

President: Yeah. But I was going to say, I think Hoover was basically, Hoover, Hoover was anti-black, but he never seemed to be anti-Semitic.

Dean: Well, he could be Jewish. I don't, you know, I . . .

President: [inaudible] I've always wondered . . . I say I've wondered on that point. Well, you can't know anything about names and the rest, but there is a tendency for our, some of our Jewish friends in the media to have their ins to everybody: Kissinger leaks to them; Burns leaks to them; [inaudible] doesn't; Safire leaks to them,

Dean: Um.

President: [inaudible] We all leak to our own.

Dean: Alright, I have got to say one thing. There has never been a leak out of my office. There never will be a leak out of my office.

President: No.

Dean: I wouldn't begin to know how to leak, even, and I don't want to learn how you leak.

President: Well, it was a shocking thing. I was reading a book last night. A fantastic book, a fun book, by Malcolm Smith, Jr. on Kennedy's Thirteen Mistakes. [inaudible] the great mistakes. And one of them had to do with the Bay of Pigs. And what had happened, there was that Chester Bowles had learned about it, and he deliberately leaked it. Deliberately, because he wanted the operation to fail!

Dean: Humph.

President: And admitted the thing! He's admitted it!

Dean: Interesting.

President: This happens all the time. Well, you can, uh, follow these characters to, to their Gethsemane. I, I feel for those poor guys in jail, particularly for Hunt. Hunt with his wife, uh, dead... it's a tough thing.

Dean: Well,

President: We'll have to . . .

Dean: there is every indication

President: We'll have to . . .

Dean: they're, they're hanging in tough right now.

President: What the hell do they expect, though? Do they expect to get clemency within a reasonable time?

Dean: I think they do.

President: But we now say . . ./What would you advise on that?

Dean: Uh, I think it is one of those things we will have to watch very closely. For example --

President: You couldn't do it, you couldn't do it, say, in six months?

Dean: No, no you couldn't. This thing may become so political as a result of these

President: Yeah.

Dean: hearings that it is, it's, it is more a vendetta. Now, if it's a vendetta, this judge may, may go off the deep end in sentencing, and make it so absurd that it's clearly an injustice uh,

President: Yeah.

Dean: that they have been heavily --

President: Are they going to appeal . . . Is there any kind of appeals left?

Dean: Right. When Liddy . . . Liddy and McCord, who sat through the trial, will both be on appeal and there is no telling how long that will last. I think it is one of these, one of these things we will just have to watch.

President: My view though is to say nothing about them on the ground that the matter is still in the courts and on appeal.

Dean: That's right.

President: That's my position. Second, my view is to say nothing about the hearings, at this point, except that I trust that they will be conducted in the proper way, and I will not comment on the hearings while they are in the process. Process.

Dean: Yeah.

President: And then, of course, if they break through -- if they get pot luck . . . You see, it's best not to

cultivate -- I guess it's Zeigler who was saying that -- it is best not cultivate that thing here in the White House. We don't want the White House gabbing about, about the God damn thing. Now there, of course, you say "But you leave it all to them." (Shrill noise) our policy. But the President should not become involved in this case. Do you agree with that?

Dean: I agree totally, sir. Absolutely. Now that doesn't mean that quietly we are not going to be working around the office.

President: [inaudible]

Dean: But, you can rest assured that we are not going to be sitting quietly.

President: I don't know what we can do. The people that are most disturbed about this [inaudible] are the God damn Republicans. A lot of these Congressmen, financial contributors, and so forth are highly moral. The Democrats are just sort of saying, "Oh Christ fun and games!" [inaudible] Fun and games.

Dean: Well, hopefully we can take that Segretti thing ...

President: Oh Jesus Christ. He was [inaudible] figure, I don't see how our boys could have gone for him. But nevertheless, they did. It was, it was really, really juvenile the way that was handled. But, nevertheless, what the hell did he do? What in the name of God did he do? Shouldn't we be trying to get intelligence? Weren't they trying to get intelligence from us?

Dean: Absolutely!

President: Didn't we try to upset? Didn't we try to disrupt their meetings? Didn't they try to disrupt ours? Christ. They threw rocks, ran demonstrations, shouted, cut the public address system, and let the tear gas in at night. What the hell is that all about. Did we do that?

Dean: McGovern had Dick Tuck on his payroll, uh, and Dick Tuck was down in Texas when you were down at the Connally ranch and set up to do a prank down there. But it never came off.

President: What did . . . what, what did what did Segretti do that came off? Nothing much.

Dean: Well, he did some humorous things. For example, there would be a fund-raising dinner, and he hired Wayne the Wizard to fly in from the Virgin Islands to perform a magic show and of course he hadn't been hired. He sent,

President: Yeah.

Dean: he sent invitations to all these black diplomats

President: Yeah.

Dean: and sent limousines out to have them picked up, and they all showed up and they hadn't been invited. He had 400 pizzas sent to another --

President: Yeah, Sure! Sure! Well, what the hell! Pranks! Tuck knew all the tricks.

Dean: But, but the . . .

President: [inaudible] in 1962, in 1960, and the rest.

They want to say "well, then that's terrible. Now isn't that terrible?"

Dean: Well, I think we can keep this, this Segretti stuff in perspective because it is not that bad. Chapin's involvement is not that deep. He was the catalyst, and that is about the extent of it.

President: Sure, he knew him and recommended him.

Dean: That's right.

President: But he didn't run him. He was too busy with us.

Dean: The one I think they are going to go after, uh, with a vengeance -- and one I plan to spend a great deal of time with next week, a couple of days as a matter of fact getting this all in order -- is Herb Kalmbach.

President: Yes.

Dean: Herb has got, -- they have subpoenaed his records, and he has records that run all over hell's acre on things for the last few years, cause, you know, Herb has been a man who has been moving things around for Maury and keeping things in

President: Right.

Dean: in tow and taking care of --

President: What is holding up his records?

Dean: Well, he's . . .

President: [inaudible]?

Dean: They're already, they've already gotten to the banks that had them, and I think what we'll do is that there will be a logical, natural explanation for every single transaction.

President: Right.

Dean: It is just a lot of minutia we've got to go through, but he is coming in next week and we . . . I told him we would sit down and he is preparing everything, getting all of it available, and we are going to sit down with Frank DeMarco and see if we can't get this whole thing --

President: [inaudible] records with regard to the campaign. They can't, they can't get his records in regard to his private transactions?

Dean: No, none of the private transactions. Absolutely, that is privileged material.

President: That's right.

Dean: Anything to do with San Clemente and the like -- that is just so far out of bounds that uh --

President: Yeah. Did they ask for that

Dean: No. No. No indication of that.

President: Good. Oh well. [inaudible].

Dean: Well, it's just not . . . it's absolutely none of their business.

President: [inaudible]. But Kalmbach is a decent fellow. He will make a good witness.

Dean: I think he will.

President: He is smart.

Dean: He has been tough thus far. We happen to know he can take it. His skin is thick now. Sure it bothered him with all this press he was getting. The LA Times has been running stories on him all the time and

President: Yeah.

Dean: and the like. Local stations have been making him more of a personality and his partners have been nipping at him, but Herb is tough now. He is ready and he is going to go through. And he's gonna . . . he is hunkered down and he is ready to handle it. So I am not worried

President: Yeah.

Dean: about Herb at all.

President: Oh well, it will be hard for him, because it will [inaudible]. I suppose the big thing is the financing transaction that they will go after is "how did the money get to the Bank in Mexico?" and so forth, and all that.

Dean: Yeah. Well, we say it can all be explained.

President: It can?

Dean: Yes, indeed! Yes, sir! They are going to be disappointed with a lot of the answers they get.

President: Yeah.

Dean: When they actually get the facts -- because the Times and the Post had such [inaudible] innuendo -- when they get the facts, they are going to be disappointed.

President: The one point that you ought to -- if you ever get to Baker -- I tried to get it through his thick skull. His skull is not thick but tell, tell Kleindienst, Kleindienst in talking to Baker -- and Herb should emphasize that the way to have a successful hearing and a fair one is to run it like a court: no hearsay, no innuendo! Now you know God damn well they're [inaudible]

Dean: That's a hell of a good point.

President: But don't . . . No hearsay. No. That is the way Nixon ran the Hiss Case. Now, as a matter of fact some innuendo came out, but there was God damn little hearsay. We really, we just got the facts, and tore them to pieces. Say "no hearsay" and "no innuendo." And that he and Ervin should sit like a court there: say "none of this hearsay, I don't like it [inaudible]." And let's have counsel. The counsel for the, for our people, he gets up there and says "I object to that, Mr. Chairman, on the basis that it is hearsay."

Dean: That's an excellent idea, Mr. President. Some of these early articles said if this thing gets steamed up will, will Sam Ervin, Constitutional man, be a judge? Will he admit hearsay? We can try to get some think pieces out to get a little pressure on him to perform that way, or to make it look very partisan when he doesn't. You know he's [inaudible].

President: I'd like to get Kleindienst to come out: "No hearsay, no innuendo! There will be no hearsay, no innuendo." This, this is going to be, shall we say, a model of a Congressional hearing. A model that will disappoint the God damn press. There's no hearsay, no innuendos, no leaks!

Dean: Well, now there, there are a lot of precedents. I have been involved in two Congressional investigations. One was the Adam Clayton Powell investigation when I was working over there as the Minority Counsel of the House Judiciary. We didn't take hearsay. We made . . . we stuck to the facts on that.

President: Um huh.

Dean: We did an investigation of the Oklahoma judges. Again, the same sort of thing. We went into executive session when necessary. I bet if we look around, we'll find respectable investigations that have been conducted up there that could be held up, and some of it should be, should be coming forth to set the, the, uh, stage for these hearings. Well I, I'm planning a number of brain sessions to . . . with some of the media people to --

President: I know. Well, it is very important, but it seems like a terrible waste of, of your time. But it is, it's important in the sense that it's all this business is a battle and they are going to wage the battle. And a lot of them have enormous frustrations about losing the elections, state of their party, and so forth. And their party has its problems. We think we've got problems, look at some of theirs, Strauss has had people and all the actors, and

they haven't done all that well.

Dean: Well, I was -- you know we have come a long road on this thing now. I had thought it was an impossible task to hold together until after the election, until things

President: Yeah.

Dean: started sorting out, but we have made it this far. And I am convinced we are going to make it the whole road and put this thing in the funny pages of the history books rather than anything serious, because actually --

President: [inaudible] It will be somewhat serious but the main thing, of course, is also the isolation of the President.

Dean: That's absolutely . . .

President: [inaudible] Because that, fortunately, is totally true.

Dean: I know that sir!

President: Good God almighty. I mean of course, I am not dumb and I will never forget when I heard about this, God damn forced entry and bugging. "Jesus," I thought, "what in the hell is this? What is the matter with these people? Are they crazy?" I thought they were nuts! You know, that it was a prank! But it wasn't! It wasn't very funny. I think that our Democratic friends know that's true too. They know what the hell . . .

Dean: I think they do too.

President: it was. I mean they know that we never would be involved in such . . . They think others are capable of [inaudible]. And they are correct, in that Colson would do anything. Well, anyway, have a little fun. And now I will not talk to you again until you have something to report to me.

Dean: Alright, sir.

President: But I think it's very important that you have these talks with our good friend Kleindienst.

Dean: That will be done.

President: Tell him we have to get these things worked out. We have to work together on this thing. He is the man, I would build him up. But he is the man who can make the difference. Also point out to him that the stakes that we have involve . . . For Christ sakes, Colson's got brass balls and so forth, but I really, really, -- this stuff here is -- let's forget this. Let's remember, this was not done by the White House. This was done by the Committee to Re-Elect, and Mitchell was the Chairman. Correct?

Dean: That's correct! [inaudible]

President: And Kleindienst owes Mitchell everything. Mitchell wanted him for Attorney General. Wanted him for Deputy, and here he is. Now, God damn it. Baker's got to realize this, and that if he allows this thing

to get out he is going to potentially ruin John Mitchell. He won't. Mitchell won't allow himself to be ruined. He's too clever. He will put on his big stone face act. But I hope he to Christ does. I hear it's, ah, as you well know, uh, that's the fish they are after.

Dean: That's right.

President: But, what the Committee is after is somebody at the White House. They, they, they'd like to get Haldeman or Colson; Ehrlichman [inaudible].

Dean: Or possibly Dean. You know,
anybody they can . . . I am a small fish.

President: Anybody at the White House they would, but in your case I think they realize you are the lawyer and they know you didn't have a God-damn thing to do with the campaign.

Dean: That's right.

President: That's what I think. Well, we'll see.

Dean: Alright, sir. -- Good bye.